

PEACE NEWS

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WE ARE UNITED TO STOP TESTS—Dr. Matsushita

Peace News reporters

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"Very unfortunately I did not succeed in changing his idea, but I think 30 minutes is too short to change the opinion of any responsible statesman. Nevertheless," he continued, "I am not at all discouraged."

After mentioning the recent decisions of the British Council of Churches and the Labour Party against the proposed tests, Mr. Matsushita said, "I think if we continue to do our effort patiently there will be much more encouraging news and things will be changed sooner or later."

"With your co-operation I am determined to carry on my work in this country and also in Japan," he declared.

When his appointment as a special envoy was announced in Japan there was large national support, not only from the Japan Council against A and H-bombs, but also from Communists, Socialists, Nationalists, and everyone else. He said that this was the only time in his memory that the whole Japanese people had been united.

NOT COMMUNIST ISSUE

"The age of gutless men"—page two

DISARMAMENT

Make this our defence policy

By STUART MORRIS

FOR the first time a Minister of Defence has admitted that no one can save the people of Britain from the consequences of nuclear attack, indeed, that no one can defend these Islands without American help.

The new White Paper on Defence shows that there has been a drastic reappraisal, and, within the limits of the previous basic

Talk of ending the call-up is A CRUEL PIECE OF DECEPTION

By George Wigg, MP

The writer, former Parliamentary Private Secretary at the War Office and Ministry of Defence, drew this comment from the Manchester Guardian last week: "In a forecast of the White Paper, which he wrote for Peace News on March 29, he forecast a net expenditure on defence in 1957-8 of £1,450 millions—a saving of £86 millions on the 1956-7 figure. He was only £30 millions out in his estimate of expenditure—a mere bagatelle when dealing with defence costs."

MY first reaction when I read the Defence White Paper was to ask myself, "What have we been waiting for?" For the White Paper contains just what any careful student of defence had imagined it would.

The similarity, for instance, between my own preview of the White Paper, published in Peace News on March 29, and the official document is astonishing.

Let us take a few examples. Mr. Sandys announced the reduction of the manpower ceiling to 375,000 by 1962 against my estimate of 400,000. I talked of an expenditure in 1957/58 of £1,450 million—Mr. Sandys' figure is £1,420 million.

I said he would limit expenditure on fighter aircraft and concentrate production on the V

the rearmament programme launched in 1950 at the time of the Korean war. However, the ending of hostilities in Korea radically altered the position."

This means, of course, that the Government have continued with costly and ineffective policies long after the Korean war ended and only now, under the impact of the Suez disaster and an economic crisis, have they been forced to undertake a defence reappraisal.

Mr. Sandys rightly argues for a new approach

assumptions of Foreign Policy, it breathes a spirit of realism absent in previous years. It recognises that:

- Britain's influence depends first and foremost upon the health of her internal economy and export trade.
- That therefore the nation of conscripts must once again become a nation of shopkeepers.

• That over the past five years "defence" has absorbed ten per cent of Britain's gross national product; seven per cent of the services of the working population; one-eighth of the output of the metal-using industries upon which the export trade depends; and involved an undue proportion of scientists and engineers in military work.

• That, since National Service involves an uneconomical use of manpower, there will be a reduction in the numbers called up and no further call up after 1960.

COUNTING THE COST

The "defence" estimates planned to have risen by a million pounds to about £1,700,000,000 for 1957-8 have been cut back to a net figure of £1,420,000,000.

Although relying mainly on the deterrent fear of nuclear retaliation, the Government believes that the frontiers of the "free world" must be firmly defended on the ground. Britain will therefore provide a fair share of the armed forces necessary but is no longer prepared to make what has been a disproportionately large contribution.

The British army on the Rhine will be reduced from 77,000 to 64,000 during the next twelve months and further reductions will follow.

Garrisons for colonies, protectorates and "commitments" in the Far East are to be considerably reduced.

Although the report goes a long way towards justifying many of the assertions made by pacifists in recent years, the Government has not been converted to a policy of disarmament. There is no fundamental change in Foreign Policy.

NO CHANGE IN POLICY

There is all the difference in the world between effecting some reduction in armaments for economic and strategic reasons and adopting a policy of disarmament.

The absence of any change of policy shows that the Government has not had the courage

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"In other ways the Japanese are quite independent... But, with this, 90,000,000 people unite."

Refuting the charge that the anti-H-bomb movement in Japan was instigated by Communists, he declared that he was not a Communist but that Communists are also human beings. On the question of abolishing nuclear weapons "we are all one. I am not afraid of being in agreement with Communists."

"But it would be a gross exaggeration to say that the whole anti-H-bomb movement is instigated by the Communists. This doctrine is dangerous."

Recalling that the Japanese had been "sufferers of the atom bomb during the war" and later "again sufferers from the Bikini

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There is all the difference in the world between effecting some reduction in armaments for economic and strategic reasons and adopting a policy of disarmament.

The absence of any change of policy shows that the Government has not had the courage or the wisdom to follow its own realistic reappraisal to the logical conclusion.

● On the threat of Communism, the White Paper, while stating that, although it remains, its nature has changed and that it is necessary to make a fresh appraisal of the problem, shows little sign of any new approach.

● On the war on want there has been no word, no suggestion at all of using the £200,000,000 saved on arms expenditure for the assistance of the have-not countries and the removal of the conditions of hunger, poverty and illiteracy which Communism all too easily exploits.

REMOVE THE FEAR

While the Government is no longer preparing to fight the next war with the weapons of the last it still bases its policy on the deterrent fear of nuclear retaliation, still indulges in the old fallacy that if you want peace you prepare for war, still believes that it is possible to engage in localised wars with conventional weapons without any serious danger of the whole world becoming involved—a danger that can be avoided if war of any sort or kind is renounced.

● The way to peace is not to increase others' fear of our H-bombs, or our own fear of attack. The way to peace is to remove fear.

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The similarity, for instance, between my own preview of the White Paper, published in Peace News on March 29, and the official document is astonishing.

Let us take a few examples. Mr. Sandys announced the reduction of the manpower ceiling to 375,000 by 1962 against my estimate of 400,000. I talked of an expenditure in 1957/58 of £1,450 million—Mr. Sandys' figure is £1,420 million.

I said he would limit expenditure on fighter aircraft and concentrate production on the V Class bombers, and he has done both.

I was right, too, when I said the Government would not mention Selective Service in the Defence White Paper, but would continue the present Selective Service system of exempting coal miners, agricultural workers, etc.

The Government are retaining this negative form of Selective Service and they say they have prepared plans, which they will shortly announce to Parliament, to reduce still further the number of men to be called-up under the National Service Acts.

Conscription

This means the Government intend to carry out the policies I forecast of letting the call-up age gradually rise. The Government have decided "to plan on the basis that there will be no further call-up under the National Service Acts after the end of 1960."

Unfortunately, the next paragraph shows that these brave words are only a piece of cruel deception.

For the White Paper declares that if voluntary recruiting fails to produce the numbers "the country will have to face the need for some limited form of compulsory service to bridge the gap."

In other words, while the Government talk about abolishing the call-up, they are pre-

We are to have a British megaton bomb, delivered by V bombers and American rockets with a maximum range of 1,500 miles. Into this pattern is fitted bases like Cyprus, and Mr. Sandys tells us that "in the event of emergency, British forces in the Middle East area would be made available to support the Alliance. This would include bomber squadrons based in Cyprus capable of delivering nuclear weapons."

Britons and Cypriots, in fact, are to provide the bases from which at a range of 1,500 miles Russian targets can be attacked.

It does not appear to have entered into the Government's thinking that the Russians, having kindly been given due notice, will remove their vital targets beyond 1,500 miles from Britain and Cyprus, and, at the same time, will build rocket launching sites within 1,500 miles of Britain and Cyprus so that within a minute or two of the starting of World War III Britain and Cyprus will be neutralised. By neutralised I mean incinerated.

The plan for conventional forces is to concentrate them in a Central Reserve which will

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Direct action committee against nuclear war

AN Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War has been set up in Britain to support those who are attempting to get out to the Pacific area closed for the H-bomb test.

Those who have agreed to sponsor the Committee so far are: Horace Alexander, Hugh Brock, Alex Comfort, Ruth Fry, Laurence Housman, John Hoyland, Spike Milligan, Stuart Morris, Patricia Rushton, Bertrand Russell, J. Allen Skinner and Arlo Tatum.

They have sent the following letter to the Press:

Harold and Sheila Steele, Reginald Reynolds, and other volunteers from this country have expressed their intention, if possible, of going to the Pacific in order to challenge the right of the British Government to carry out the proposed tests with nuclear weapons.

At this late stage an Emergency Committee has been established in order to raise funds for this purpose, to co-operate with Japanese and, we hope, American organisations sharing the same purposes, and to provide the basis for further direct action in future so long as it may be necessary.

The Emergency Committee wishes to hand over its responsibility to a larger and more representative body as soon as this can be done.

In the meantime funds are urgently needed and donations can be sent to J. Allen Skinner, Hon. Secretary, 79 Lordship Park, London, N.16.

Harold Steele has sent a letter to Queen Salote of Tonga asking her if she can join in the protest against the tests. The Japanese Embassy have told him it will be a month before they can issue a visa.

LATE NEWS

"Note of Protest" against British H-test handed to Foreign Secretary at 5 p.m. on April 5 by the Indonesian Ambassador in person. Main points of note, ignored by British Press, will appear in Peace News next week.

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For the White Paper declares that if voluntary recruiting fails to produce the numbers "the country will have to face the need for some limited form of compulsory service to bridge the gap."

In other words, while the Government talk about abolishing the call-up, they are preparing to introduce full-blooded Selective Service.

That Selective Service is the ultimate object of the Government's manpower policy is confirmed by the delicate way the White Paper touches on the vital, but overwhelmingly difficult, task of finding the technically skilled manpower necessary to maintain modern equipment.

The fact that the White Paper mentions the problem, but suggests no solution confirms me in my conviction that what Mr. Duncan Sandys calls "some limited form of compulsory service to bridge the gap" is with us for many years to come.

Deterrent

Indeed, I believe that within the next two or three weeks the Government will, as I forecast, announce the withdrawal of the Army three years engagement and will substitute six years as the minimum period for which a Regular soldier can engage.

In my view the withdrawal of the three year engagement is the first step towards building up a Regular Army of sufficient size even to dream of ever getting completely rid of National Service. In fact I would go so far as to say that the reason we have National Service now is due to the introduction and retention of the three-year engagement long after the date on which it was conclusively proved to have been a failure.

It is said that Mr. Sandys planned and wrote the Defence White Paper himself, and if this be so it does him great credit. First, he sets out to make an accurate appreciation of the muddle which our defence policies have reached.

He tells us that "the present shape of Britain's defence forces was largely settled by

now on is to be what . . . Sandys defence of the deterrent."

Incinerated

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The plan for conventional forces is to concentrate them in a Central Reserve which will be maintained in the British Isles. This Central Reserve, so the White Paper says, "must possess the means of rapid mobility," and goes on to add: "For this purpose, a substantial fleet of transport aircraft is being built up in the RAF Transport Command"—a fleet composed of Comet IIs, Beverley freighters and Hastings aircraft.

This statement is completely misleading. At the present moment we have thirty Beverley freighters with a normal loaded range of 1,000

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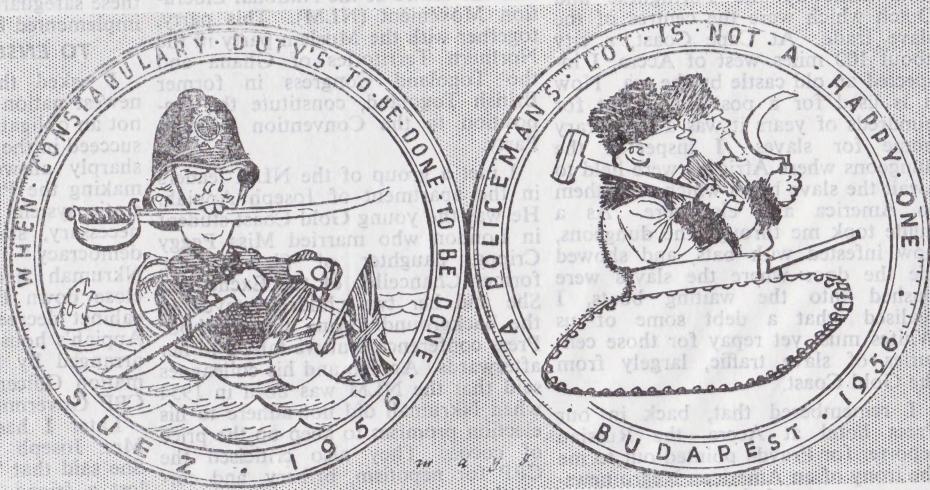
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● The way to peace is not to increase others' fear of our H-bombs, or our own fear of attack. The way to peace is to remove fear.

Though the change in British defence policy has already given rise to serious misgivings in the USA and Germany, the British Prime Minister has himself given the assurance that there is no fear of the unemployment which opponents of disarmament have so often prophesied.

"I can assure you," said Mr. Macmillan, "that in the steel and metal industries and the various branches of engineering there is no need to fear unemployment as the result of

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A decision is expected shortly on . . . a campaign medal . . . for our intervention in Suez last November—Daily Telegraph.

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PEACE NEWS

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THE AGE OF GUTLESS MEN

"THIS is the age of gutless men" writes Mr. James Cameron in the News Chronicle. He adds "myself included"; a scaring indictment, followed by a grovelling confession!

He is writing on the Government White Paper on "Defence," which falsifies all the arguments upon which both the Government Party and the Labour "Opposition" have hitherto based their contentions regarding Britain's military policy.

"We are officially dependent for survival," says Mr. Cameron, "only on a philosophical point; on a single weapon whose only usefulness is in the fact that it is too horrible ever to be used.

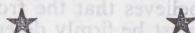
"Thus does homo sapiens move still faster in ever-decreasing circles, towards the inevitable acrobatic conclusion."

What would Mr. Cameron do about it? On that point he feels no necessity to speak. He is not a politician. The situation is one in which he apparently feels contempt for politicians but not for those who have no need to say in Westminster what should be done.

At Westminster "the Members celebrate division and fear—and compromise.

"How sick I am of democrats 'conscious of the dangers to humanity,' wanting the bomb put off 'for a limited period.'"

He remarks that he has some sympathy for Mr. Macmillan whom the Labour Party spokesmen are attacking equally for not having nuclear warheads for his guided missiles and also for seeking to have H-bombs. "I haven't much for his opponents, complaining of the absence and the presence of the same thing, triumphantly proposing to postpone destiny for a limited period."



WE do not quote these passages because we deprecate the implied indictment of the Parliamentary Labour Party. We hold it to be justified.

We feel, however, that Mr. Cameron gives his readers the right to ask where his "comments" lead, and here he is more shamelessly evasive than those he condemns. He poses the problem and then departs to talk about poverty in India and to speculate on the feelings of Archbishop Makarios on his release.

"We are back," he says, "to the clarion calls of everybody from General MacArthur to Dr. Soper: that War Must Be Outlawed," forgetting, perhaps that this has already been done seven or eight times, by Treaty and Statute.

Now we put it to Mr. Cameron that his bracketting of General MacArthur and Dr. Soper is wilfully disengenuous. General MacArthur has made his eloquent call for the outlawry of war, and like Mr. Cameron, he has poured out his contempt for the politicians. And there he has left the matter. In the General's notable speech at Los Angeles in 1955 he carefully refrained from giving any indication as to how his stupendous new realisation that war should be outlawed should affect US policy, and we have waited in vain during the two years that have passed since that speech was made for any comprehensible suggestion. He, too, has provided an outstanding example of Mr. Cameron's "gutless men."

Dr. Soper is in a quite different category. He, like General MacArthur and Mr. Cameron, has described the consequences for humanity of warfare with the modern weapons, but he has made it perfectly clear what in his view we should do about it.

IN PERSPECTIVE

THE new franchise proposals for Southern Rhodesia are that the voters' roll should consist of "ordinary" and "special" voters.

Qualifications for "ordinary" voters, who must not be under 21 years would consist of

(a) income: £60 a month or property valued at £1,500, plus an adequate knowledge of English;

(b) income: £40 a month or property, £1,000, plus standard six certificate of education;

(c) income: £25 a month or property, £500, plus Form IV certificate of education.

For the "special" voters the qualifications apart from age (21) are to be an income of £15 a month, and an adequate knowledge of English and a capacity to fill in the voter's enrolment form unaided.

The total number of "special" votes cast in any election, however, must never count more than half the number of "ordinary" votes however many "special" votes there may be.

The proposals have been unanimously rejected by Africans in the Federation.

"We employ strange devices these days to maintain the fiction that Rhodesia is a democracy," says the political commentator of the Rhodesian Opposition party newspaper, "The Citizens," in a recent issue.

"The latest of these is . . . an attempt to fool the unfortunate blacks—the logical follow-up, no doubt, to that other hoax called partnership.

"One African leader . . . has said there is fear that the franchise would always be manipulated in favour of the European.

"Of course it will. All that remains is for the fact to be stated, then everyone will know where he is."

It is reported that the Southern Rhodesian proposals have already been offered by its Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, to the Federal Government as a basis for a federal franchise, and that the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who is coming to London this month

ministration to the Army.

The text of the agreement had been circulated to members of the Synod only three days before the meeting and had been signed in advance by both Dr. Adenauer and Bishop Dibelius. No amendments were, therefore possible, and the Synod had no choice but to accept or reject the agreement as a whole.

The agreement provides for army chaplains to have the status of civil servants and to be in certain respects under the control of the military authorities.

Bishop Dibelius defending the agreement in the discussion called it the "Magna Carta of independence for evangelical religious ministration to soldiers."

Among others who urged the Synod to reject the agreement was Dr. Niemoller who asked "What are we to preach to these soldiers? Are we

favourable vote the agreement could not have been approved in Synod. This may also result in increasing opposition to, and restrictions on, the Evangelical Church in East Germany, where the four Church papers which reported the Synod have been banned.

Satyagrahis

WE are glad to report that the Indian satyagrahis who have been imprisoned by the Portuguese have been released. They have been in prison for 19 months.

It is reliably reported that their release has been due to an initiative taken by the Pope. Cardinal Gracias, the Goan Bishop of Bombay, has issued a statement in this sense. He says that the Pope's intervention followed a resolution passed by the Conference of Catholic Bishops that was held under his leadership last October.

Some of those released have reported that after their arrest they were grossly ill-treated and insulted. Mr. N. G. Goray, a Socialist member of the Indian Parliament, states that the Portuguese police beat the prisoners mercilessly on the least pretext.

The release of those who were demonstrating on behalf of the right of the Goans to decide their own future has not been applied to the Goans themselves. It is only Indian prisoners who have been released. There are more than 400 Goan prisoners, most of whom have been held without trial, who are still being detained.

The Salazar regime in Portugal depends absolutely on the support of toleration of the Catholic Church, and it is much to be hoped that the Pope will be moved to follow up his initiative on behalf of the Indian prisoners by further action in favour of the Goans who are suffering because of their desire for Goanese freedom.

NATO Commander

THE dilemma of those who oppose the re-militarisation of Germany only was given further emphasis last week by the sad case of a French conscript who refused the call-up. He refused to go to the army because he

A BERGAM



compromise.

"How sick I am of democrats 'conscious of the dangers to humanity,' wanting the bomb put off 'for a limited period.'"

He remarks that he has some sympathy for Mr. Macmillan whom the Labour Party spokesmen are attacking equally for not having nuclear warheads for his guided missiles and also for seeking to have H-bombs. "I haven't much for his opponents, complaining of the absence and the presence of the same thing, triumphantly proposing to postpone destiny for a limited period."



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If he has urged that war should be outlawed he has also made it plain that he holds that for him this means that Britain should cease to make preparation for the outlawed activity.



MR. CAMERON may or may not agree with this, but he cannot pretend that he does not understand what it means.

We do not know what General MacArthur would do, although most of us guess that his views do not much differ from those of the politicians who are directing our course "faster in ever-decreasing circles."

We do know what Dr. Soper would do. We should like to know what Mr. Cameron would do.

If Mr. Cameron were merely one of the feather-headed people who regard journalism as just a job, and feel no need for a sense of responsibility nor any compulsion to seek consistency in what they advocate we should not be bothering about him.

We regard him, however, as one of those in British journalism who are outstandingly worth reading. It is for this reason we should like to see him displaying more backbone than the politicians he condemns.

These are times in which the threats overhanging humanity are so terrible that they demand that all who cannot abdicate from their human responsibility shall stand up and be counted. This demand cannot be met by abstention as allowed by the Party standing orders; and it cannot be met by evading the issue in a cloud of journalistic eloquence.

Let Mr. Cameron stand up.

Ashanti's National Liberation Movement

by Dr. HOMER JACK

ACCRA is not Ghana any more than London is England. The visitor attending the independence celebrations in Accra could easily be mistaken that Ghana is Nkrumah or even the Convention People's Party.

Ghana has its tribal troubles as many African countries, independent

After motoring another day through tiny villages with the new Ghana colours of red, gold, and green

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"One African leader . . . has said there is fear that the franchise would always be manipulated in favour of the European."

"Of course it will. All that remains is for the fact to be stated, then everyone will know where he is."

It is reported that the Southern Rhodesian proposals have already been offered by its Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, to the Federal Government as a basis for a federal franchise, and that the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who is coming to London this month, will include them in his discussions with the Government under which pastoral care of men in the Armed Forces would be the responsibility of the local parish minister for whom assistance would be provided if necessary.

Sir Roy and his Government, supported by the majority of white settlers, have been pressing for Dominion status for the Federation.

The emergence of Ghana under African rulers as an independent State within the Commonwealth has alarmed the Europeans in Central Africa, and Sir Roy's forthcoming visit to Britain is interpreted as a bid to secure a status that will remove any possibility of the Rhodesias (and Nyasaland) going the way of Ghana.

Army Chaplains

AFTER five and a half hours of heated discussion, the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany, one-third of whose members live in Eastern Germany, accepted by 91 votes to 19, with five abstentions, an agreement with the West German Government providing for religious

system in Ghana is very democratic; if a chief is corrupt, he can immediately be unseated.

Some months before the March 6 independence celebrations, it looked as if the Opposition would seriously interfere with the proceedings, but a last-minute compromise was achieved by inviting certain reformists into the

to reject the agreement was Dr. Niemoller who asked "What are we to preach to these soldiers? Are we

Conference of Catholic Bishops that was held under his leadership last October.

Some of those released have reported that after their arrest they were grossly ill-treated and insulted. Mr. N. G. Goray, a Socialist member of the Indian Parliament, states that the Portuguese police beat the prisoners mercilessly on the least pretext.

The release of those who were demonstrating on behalf of the right of the Goans to decide their own future has not been applied to the Goans themselves. It is only Indian prisoners who have been released. There are more than 400 Goan prisoners, most of whom have been held without trial, who are still being detained.

The Salazar regime in Portugal depends absolutely on the support of toleration of the Catholic Church, and it is much to be hoped that the Pope will be moved to follow up his initiative on behalf of the Indian prisoners by further action in favour of the Goans who are suffering because of their desire for Goanese freedom.

NATO Commander

THE dilemma of those who oppose the re-militarisation of Germany only was given further emphasis last week by the sad case of a French conscript who refused the call-up summons. He refused to serve under the orders of German General Speidel and is now held in prison. His father was shot by the Germans during the occupation.

The appointment of General Speidel as NATO Central European Commander is, of course, a monstrous decision. It presumes that the millions who endured the horrors of the last war have no intelligence and no memories. It presupposes that they can believe one lie one moment and another the next.

Such a situation, however, is not new. It is normal after major wars for the military Powers involved to re-group themselves in new alignments. If one is prepared to accept and support the political and military leaders and the power institutions which they control, one must surely accept the assumption upon which military Powers are accustomed to operate.

S. Rhodesia Germany Goa Speidel

justified in salving the consciences of those who handle nuclear weapons? I can't do that."

Several speakers pointed out that the agreement would help to widen the gulf between East and West Germany. Prelate Kunst who has already been appointed Army Bishop, said that he personally would answer in the affirmative the question of whether a Christian could be a soldier in the present circumstances, but admitted that there could be no one valid answer by the Evangelical Church as such.

Dr. Niemoller tells us that although the agreement has been approved by the Synod the Lande conferences are autonomous and not bound by the decision. He hopes that Hesse and Nassau, of which conference he is President, will reject the agreement and make their own treaty with the Government under which pastoral care of men in the Armed Forces would be the responsibility of the local parish minister for whom assistance would be provided if necessary.

Visa refused

ONE reaction has been the refusal of the East German Government to grant the usual visa to Bishop Dibelius to visit that part of his diocese which lies over the zonal border. One reason given is that the Bishop had, by the agreement, supported German rearmament and, as one paper put it, "concluded a pact with the devil," and according to another paper allowed Christianity "to be misused as a moral cement for a NATO army." The refusal is probably also meant as a sign of the Government's displeasure at the action of the East German delegates without whose

From the Editor's Notebook

Cryptic postcard

RECENTLY the Evening Standard's TV critic remarked that it was a pity that the pacifist case was not heard more often; he had under review a debate between Dr. Donald Soper and a general.

Sybil Morrison wrote to the Editor of the Evening Standard pointing out

He stressed the high responsibility of West Africa in their achievement of independence.

A loss to Wales

LAST month Wales lost, through death, two of her finest pacifists: Alderman R. E. Holland and the Rev. Professor J. Oliver Stephens.

Alderman Holland, last year's Chairman of Ceredigionshire County

NEW DANGER TO THE PEACEFUL PEOPLE

A NEW threat has been introduced aimed at destroying the way of life of the Hopi Indians—"the Peaceful People"—and firmly establishing their subservience to the US Government.

These Indian people were the subject of a feature article in Peace News, December 14.

The Hopi Nation has never fought a war against the US Government, has never been conquered by it and has never signed away its independence in any treaty. The traditional Hopi believe that their pacifist way of life is better than the white man's and want to be allowed to pursue it without hindrance from a war-making Government.

The traditional Hopi leaders and people are protesting against a Bill introduced in the United States Senate (Bill S. 692) which declares that the Indian lands described in the Executive order dated December 16, 1882 "are hereby declared to be held by the United States in trust for the Indians who are entitled to be thereon pursuant to such Executive order."

The Bill also establishes the authority of the US District Court and the US Supreme Court to hear cases and make decisions concerning the conflicting land claims of the Hopi and Navajo Indian nations, and to establish the

boundaries of reservations for the Navajo and Hopi.

Authorisation is also granted for the sale, purchase or exchange of any lands within the reservations by the "tribes" with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

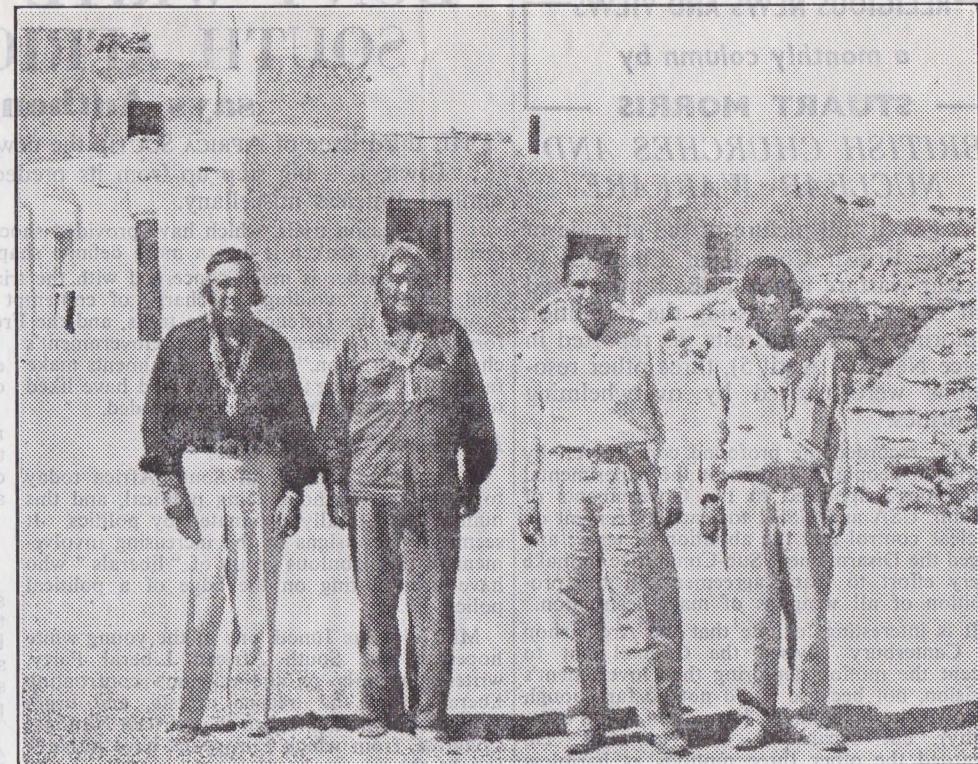
The Bill is favoured by the so-called Hopi Tribal Council recognised by the US Government as the official governing body of the Hopi Nation in violation to the traditional Hopi system of government based on village autonomy and clan chieftainship.

It is inconceivable in terms of Hopi beliefs to either give, sell or bargain away their land for they believe they simply hold the land in trust for the "Great Spirit."

"The Peaceful People" regard the Bill as an additional severe threat to their way of life. They urge all friends to protest strongly against the Bill. They declare: "The Hopi leaders are moving and acting strongly. The number one problem to tackle is this Bill."

Protests may be sent to President Eisenhower, the Department of the Interior, and to individual US Senators, in Washington, DC, USA. Messages of support to the Hopi Nation may be sent to Dan Katchongva, Hopi Indian Nation, Hotevilla, Arizona, USA.

April 12, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3



Four Hopi who are among those who have the duty of bringing the Hopi message of peace to the attention of the world at this time. Above L. to R.: Ralph Dewangyuma, Dan Katchongva, Thomas Banyacya, and David Monongye. Thomas Banyacya came to a new appreciation of the Hopi way of life and beliefs after studying comparative religion in college.

Banyacya is the translator for the traditional and religious leaders of all the traditional villages on all important occasions. He is one of the very few men in the US who have served three prison sentences as a religious objector to war. One other Hopi is also among that number.

In the background is a typical Hopi house. Made of stones and mud (some now use cement and plaster for mortar and finish), with log roof beams covered with branches and brush, and finally with clayey dirt, they make a very durable and satisfactory home.

The stones at right are near the entrance to the Kiva, the sacred underground ceremonial chamber.

Below: Craig, 29-year-old son of well-educated Iroquois-white, parents, was born in Michigan. He attended Michigan State College on scholarship for two terms, then left without regrets. For four years he wandered over the US working as a labourer, logging, sailing, studying and thinking, hunting with bow and arrow, studying wild life, trying to find the answer to his "over-powering question": "Is civilisation right or wrong?"

Following his marriage at 20, he began a spiritual search, in the course of which he became conscious of his Indian heritage and the values of the small community. While exploring suitable sites for co-operative communities in the wilderness bordering the Navajo Reservation, he entered it.

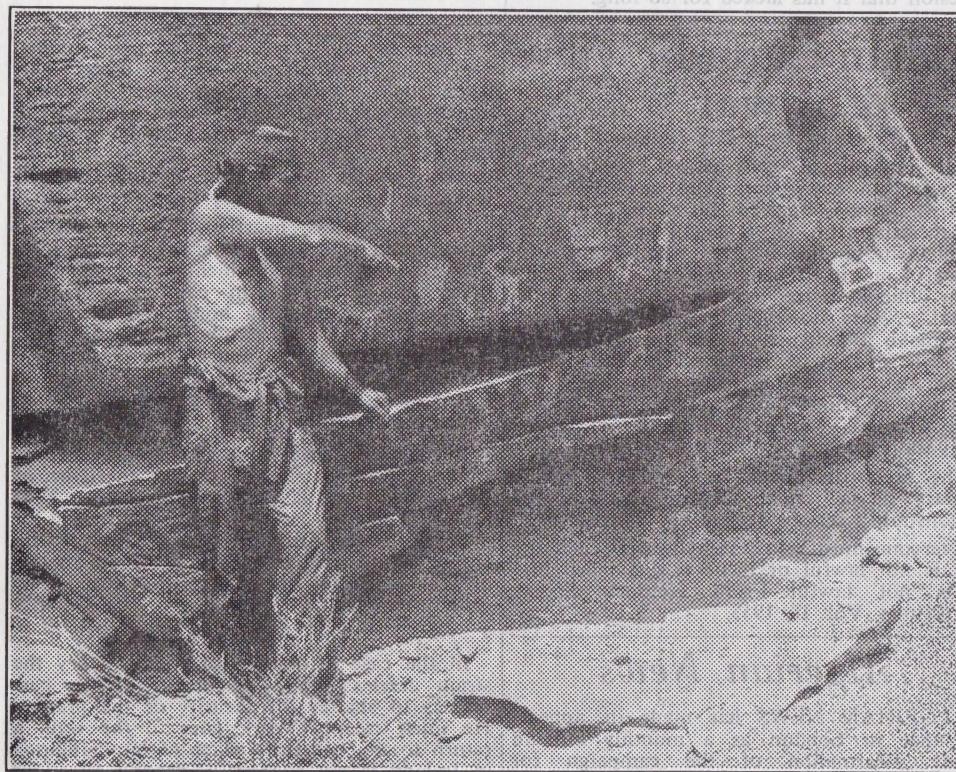
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Craig pointing to a Hopi Bear Clan symbol found on the south side of the San Juan River near its confluence with the mighty Colorado. Similar symbols have been found on the north side of the Columbia River (the border between the states of Oregon and Washington).

The Hopis say that these markings were made at the time long ago when the scattered Hopi bands were returning from all over the continent to Oraibi Village. According to Hopi tradition the bands had gone out following instructions from the Great Spirit to set up markers and monuments to convincingly establish the Hopi land claim at a future date.

After the appearance of the Great Star in the East they were to heed their sacred instructions and seek out the Great Bear Clan at Oraibi Village and settle down to await the coming of the True White Brother. The Hopis who went to South America did not return. The stylised bear tract Craig is pointing to usually indicates that its maker was looking for the Bear Clan.

OVERFLOW



THE recent meeting organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee was the biggest pacifist demonstration for several years and the fact that it was necessary to have an overflow meeting was significant of a renewed interest. I feel sure that all present were encouraged to increase their activities in the coming days.

But another significant fact was the absence of

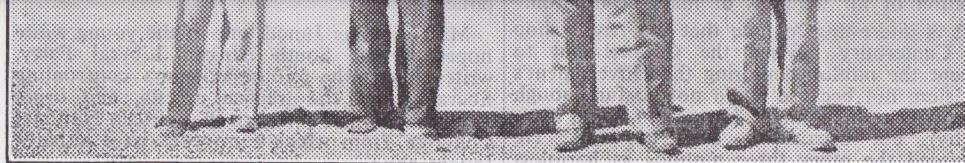
MISUSE OF NON-VIOLENCE?

Professor boycotted in Negro College

THE recent American case of a Negro Professor, Clennon King, and Mississippi's Alcorn College student strike could provoke some interesting discussion on proper and improper use of non-violent techniques.

Professor Clennon King (63), the focus of the strike, had been teaching history at the all-Negro Alcorn Agriculture and Mechanical College for only six months when the wrath of the students descended upon him.

Mr. King, who has published a series of



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Following his marriage at 20, he began a spiritual search, in the course of which he became conscious of his Indian heritage and the values of the small community. While exploring suitable sites for co-operative communities in the wilderness bordering the Navajo Reservation, he entered it.

"The adopting of Indian ways brought me even closer to the simple significant things of life . . ." he says. One morning in his garden he felt a call to go to the home of the Bluebird Chief of the Hopi Shungopavy Village. On visiting there he became convinced that "These are the people."

After four years with the Hopi, he says, "Hopi have to my mind, the closest thing to the ideal that I have yet found or heard of . . . I left the 'Western world' even at its peak of 'ever expanding' glory and its invincible armies and even as the world worships at its feet, to tie up with a little group of scattered villages and a small assortment of ragged men—any one of which is capable of the feats of Bapu (Gandhi), the father of a nation."

Craig has been imprisoned as a religious objector to war, and keeps his income below the level for federal income tax.



by RALPH BLACKWOOD

a growth and spreading of non-violent ways of solving conflicts? How many student strikes have there been in small Southern Negro colleges? Has anyone ever before proposed protesting about an action by standing on Mississippi's State Capitol steps—or similar non-violent direct action—in the South?

Professor King changed his mind about his own proposal for non-violent direct action, but only after it was too late to keep his proposal

The State college board said those who did not show up for classes on Monday would be

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OVERFLOW



activities in the coming days.

But another significant fact was the absence of any mention of such a large and important meeting in the national Press. We obviously cannot get any support from the ordinary media of information and education. If the challenge of pacifism in face of the failure of violence is to be heard, we ourselves must be the means through which it is presented.

I hope, therefore, that the many pacifists who could not be present at the meeting will catch something of the challenge and inspiration of it, and also be encouraged to renewed activity. The overflow must not be confined to the additional meeting. All over the country our enthusiasm must overflow and send us out distributing leaflets, taking part in demonstrations, selling Peace News. Surely, everyone can do something along those lines one evening a week. Peace Pledge Union Headquarters will provide the leaflets and posters, help to arrange speakers and, if necessary, pay for demonstrations. That is one reason why we have a PPU Headquarters Fund. If you were not at the meeting, please send me what you would have put into the collection, and remember that it will take a lot of money before we can report an overflow so far as contributions to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund are concerned.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.

Amount received to date: £137.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union which are used for the work of the PPU should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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THE recent American case of a Negro Professor, Clennon King, and Mississippi's Alcorn College student strike could provoke some interesting discussion on proper and improper use of non-violent techniques.

Professor Clennon King (63), the focus of the strike, had been teaching history at the all-Negro Alcorn Agriculture and Mechanical College for only six months when the wrath of the students descended upon him.

Mr. King, who has a Bachelor's degree from Tuskegee and an MA from Western Reserve, had ideas of his own on current issues. He put forth his ideas in letters to the Press. It seems that Professor King's letters were not pleasing to Alcorn College's President.

Some students, too, were unhappy about the Professor. They claimed he was often rude. But, all was calm until the State Times of Jackson, Mississippi started publishing a series of articles by Professor King.

Reports are that King claimed the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was arousing the antagonisms of white people and so making conditions even worse for Negroes and that the Negro members of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People are the real "Uncle Toms" (subservient Negroes).

Mass meeting of students

Professor King's students started boycotting his classes soon after his first article rolled off the press. Time Magazine reports that the students "were not so much outraged by what the Professor had said as by the picture that the Times had run showing some of them in his class.

For two days student feelings built up. Then, all Alcorn's 561 students agreed that Professor King must resign or be fired. Otherwise, the students would leave the school.

Professor King stood before a mass meeting of the students and begged them to try to understand. He had tears in his eyes but he refused to resign.

The Student Council President said, "As far

the Bluebird Chief of the Hopi Shungopavy Village. On visiting there he became convinced that "These are the people."

After four years with the Hopi, he says, "Hopi have to my mind, the closest thing to the ideal that I have yet found or heard of. . . . I left the 'Western world' even at its peak of 'ever expanding' glory and its invincible armies and even as the world worships at its feet, to tie up with a little group of scattered villages and a small assortment of ragged men—any one of which is capable of the feats of Bapu (Gandhi), the father of a nation."

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Professor King changed his mind about his own proposal for non-violent direct action, but only after it was too late to keep his proposal from being published in the Negro Press. Would the history Professor have made this error if he had spent as much time studying past non-violent campaigns as he has spent studying wars?

Nation-wide publicity

According to Mr. King, the students refused to give him a fair hearing. Isn't it likely that the students let themselves be carried away by their own impulses and mass psychology?

In brief, wouldn't a better understanding of non-violence have profited both the Professor and the students?

Are the students of Alcorn in a better position now to learn about the non-violence of the Reverend Martin Luther King, and the Great Soul, Gandhi? One wonders how the students reacted to the nation-wide publicity their strike stirred up. Did they expect such fame—or notoriety? Do they see what this means? Do they know, now, what power they hold in their hands, if they act with greater wisdom for a greater cause? How much education do Alcorn's students need now to become capable Satyagrahis?

How would they react, now, to Gandhi's words: "Since Satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a Satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyagraha?"

The most important question posed by the Alcorn incident is the question of our responsibilities. If Gandhi's methods are known by so many but understood by so few, is it not the duty of those who have studied non-violence to pass their findings on to those who are ready to act?

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS

*a monthly column by***STUART MORRIS****BRITISH CHURCHES AND NUCLEAR WARFARE**

TO give a full picture of the attitude of the British Council of Churches to nuclear warfare it should be remembered that in addition to passing the resolution deplored the British tests (as reported in Peace News of April 5), three other resolutions were carried by overwhelming majorities.

They recorded the profound concern felt by Christian people in Britain at the experimental explosions; appealed to the Governments of Britain, USA and USSR to reach agreement on nuclear control and the abolition of tests; and urged the Disarmament Sub-Committee to make every effort to reach agreement on the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction.

It is interesting to note that the Archbishop of Canterbury advised the Council not to accept the motion deplored the Government's decision, not because it did not go far enough (for which there might have been some sympathy), but because it went too far. He regarded the other three motions as harmless because they "merely asked the Government to keep on doing what they were already doing." Is the Archbishop only prepared to encourage the Government and never to oppose their political decisions on moral grounds?

LETTER ON APARTHEID

Had he been able to choose his last act, the late Archbishop of Capetown would probably have wished it to be his signature, a few minutes before his sudden death, on a letter to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Anglican Bishops in South Africa. The letter firmly denied the right of the secular Government to determine whether or where a member of the Church of any race should discharge his religious duty of participating in public worship, or to give instructions to any Minister as to whom he should admit to membership of his congregation.

Although recognising the gravity of disobedience to the law of the land, the Archbishop claimed that there were some matters which belonged to God and not to Caesar. Because the Bishops believed that this was one of them, they were bound to state that if the Bill became law, they would be unable to obey it and would advise their clergy and people to resist it. The letter concluded with an appeal to the Government not to put

DON'T WRITE OFF ALL THE SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES

says Anthony Sampson

THE third issue of AFRICA SOUTH, the new literary quarterly published from Cape Town, is a big step up from its predecessors, which were turning towards an aimless, timeless miscellany.

The treason trials, which have provided shock treatment to many people in South Africa, seem to have shaken it into a more definite shape.

This number is much concerned with the trials: it is dedicated to three of the accused; and, carefully avoiding the charge of contempt of court, it opens with the speech for the Counsel for the Defence at the trials, and the Freedom Charter of 1955, which appears to be forming the cornerstone of the Government's charge of "treason." Both the documents make fascinating reading; though I would have liked to see the prosecutor's address included.

Dilemma of the liberals

It is getting difficult in South Africa today to be literary without being political, and this number is naturally dominated by politics. It seems to show signs of the increasing involvement of the nebulous group of "liberals" who have been flitting on the edge of a political policy.

Miss Violaine Junod, one of the young white hopes of the South African Liberal Party, writes pungently on the dilemma confronting liberals since the treason arrests, and urges stronger co-operation with the African National Congress, from which Europeans have hitherto fought shy:

"It is clear," says Miss Junod, "that any White who wishes to become part and parcel of a truly inter-racial United Front must be prepared firstly to be identified fully with the non-Whites and secondly to accept readily any hardships or restrictions on his personal freedom which the Government may see fit to impose."

That is true—and it is a bold and difficult choice for any European to detach himself from his own race. How many liberals will take this course of identification with Congress is a crucial factor in South Africa's development.

There is some good writing on Kenya (by Basil Davidson), on the Congo (by Claude de Mestral) and on African Landlessness (by Phyllis Ntatala)—a welcome contribution in an issue which is a little too white-faced. But much the most exciting things that have appeared so far in Africa South are two poems—by Alan Paton and Anthony Delius.

Masterful satire

It is a remarkable chance that two of the finest South African writers should have decided—six thousand miles apart—to turn to verse satire, evidently on the grounds that South African politics are too absurd for prose. The result is triumphantly funny-serious.

BOOKS

"Any man's death diminishes me"

FRANK DAWTRY reviews

Pity the Innocent, by Ethel Mannin. (Jarrold, 15s.)

PITY is a wondrous thing and without it the hard and thoughtless world would be intolerable. Pity, compassion, tenderness, these are the actuating motives in the writing of this book.

It has its faults and weaknesses but they are of little account, for the story itself is but a reflection of Ethel Mannin's own tenderness, compassion and pity in which she speaks for all those whose hearts are not of stone.

The innocent in this story is the son of a murderer—but the woman herself is driven to the murder by her own inadequate emotions, so who indeed is not innocent? The execution of Ruth Ellis, who shot her lover but had public opinion on her side (save for the women who would like to have shot their own faithless men), solved no problem, and it left behind a child to carry for ever the burden of its mother's life and death.

The law takes no account of matters like that. But Miss Mannin saw that aspect of the whole tragedy and out of it has written this book.



It tells the story of the son of such a mother—or of other innocents who tried to protect him from true knowledge of her fate. The over-drawn and unlikely character who reveals the truth draws no pity from us, but he is surely allegorical and he represents the mass of un-thinking people, the cruel ones who like to hurt, including the hollow hungry Press.

The thoughtless, heartless world leaves no innocents in peace. So the growing youth lives with his secret sorrow, which is more than his father can bear. Warm comforting friends shelter him, give him a home and encourage him, and it is with joy that we realise that these represent the merciful and loving elements in society. The lad grows to know love and to feel it for a girl whose own growth to womanhood is beautifully drawn.

But he can never give or take love fully, truly and without reserve. Such is the effect of his insecurity and lack of true love in his childhood. This, too, is an honest study full of understanding. "Oh the pity of it," for all who are so afraid of themselves and of the rebuffs of life. What joy they miss, what strain they suffer.



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CATHOLIC VIEW

The Roman Catholic Archbishops of Cape-town, Durban and Pretoria have also all denounced the proposed law as a direct attack on freedom of religion and conscience. They assert that the Catholic Church will defy the law if passed, since the Government proposes to interfere with the right of conscience of the individual.

It would appear that the Government has been surprised by the vehemence of the protest from the Churches, and although Dr. Verwoerd has declared that it is not the intention to infringe the principle of freedom of worship, the Anglican Bishops have been warned to stop their "unnecessary agitation" against the Bill.

The Bill was due for second reading in the first week of March but was dropped to eleventh place on the order paper, while the Cabinet reconsidered the position. Certain suggested amendments have now been published, including a requirement that before forbidding natives to attend Churches in White areas, the Minister of Native Affairs should be satisfied that such an attendance caused a nuisance, and should also obtain the concurrence of the local authorities.

The amendments, however, make it plain that if, after adequate time for the churches to make representations, the prohibition was disobeyed, it would be "the first step" to

policy.

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*Across the way the weary Opposition
Nods forty heads above one nice reflection
—A dream as well—to find a proposition
That's vague enough to win the next election . . .*

And his penultimate stanza on ten little liberals has a grim ring of prophecy:

*One little liberal found nothing could be done
So he took the boat for England, and then
there were none.*

But no extract can give the flavour of this

Study of non-violence in Norway

Gene Sharp of Peace News staff has just returned to London following a month's leave to do research on various aspects of non-violence at the Institute of Philosophy and the History of Ideas under a programme financed by the Norwegian Scientific Research Council.

He also lectured at the Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of Sociology there. While in Norway, and during his return trip via Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands, he interviewed, for Peace News, various pacifists and other peace-workers.

This interview with Professor Arne Naess is the first of these.

RESEARCH and analysis of the ideas and methods of non-violence is important for society as a whole, Professor Arne Naess, of the Institute of Philosophy

to write off all White South Africans as bigoted racialists; and Englishmen are quite surprised to read about White South African students united against university apartheid, or protesting against colour-bar hostels in London. There's quite a large rebel element in South Africa, as you'll see from these pages, and its beginning to show signs of developing the cohesion that it has lacked for so long.

Roman Catholic view of war

Reprinted from Pax Bulletin

THE government declares and conducts the war, but every individual must take the personal responsibility for his participation (as for everything he does); hence he must form a judgment on the question whether the war is lawful or not. This judgment is admittedly often difficult, indeed impossible for the individual. Today, however, there are possibilities that make a judgment easier than formerly: the extensive news services bring announcements and declarations from everywhere . . . No man is allowed to do something in wartime which is bad in itself and (or) is unequivocally judged by him to be so.

The authorities ought not to force active military service on those who refuse it for demonstrably serious reasons of conscience.

Everyone must refuse military service if the war is not lawful or if he is convinced that it is not lawful—From Herder's SOCIAL CATECHISM, Vol. II, 1953.

Algerian News

ALGERIAN NEWS has made its appearance in London as a monthly bulletin giving information of the campaign for Algerian independence and the liberation of the Algerian Nationalist leader, Messali Hadj, long held as a prisoner by the French.

A Committee for the liberation of Messali Hadj and other Algerian prisoners has been set up, Algerian News reports, under the chairmanship of Leslie Hale, MP, and supported by Fenner Brockway, MP, and Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP. (Secretary: Mrs. Lorna Corbett, 15 Ashley Court, London, S.W.1.)

Algerian News may be obtained at 2s. 6d. a dozen post free from 374 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

who would like to have shot their own faithless men), solved no problem, and it left behind a child to carry for ever the burden of its mother's life and death.

The law takes no account of matters like that. But Miss Mannin saw that aspect of the whole tragedy and out of it has written this book.



It tells the story of the son of such a mother—of other innocents who tried to protect him from true knowledge of her fate. The over-drawn and unlikely character who reveals the truth draws no pity from us, but he is surely allegorical and he represents the mass of un-thinking people, the cruel ones who like to hurt, including the hollow hungry Press.

The thoughtless, heartless world leaves no innocents in peace. So the growing youth lives with his secret sorrow, which is more than his father can bear. Warm comforting friends shelter him, give him a home and encourage him, and it is with joy that we realise that these represent the merciful and loving elements in society. The lad grows to know love and to feel it for a girl whose own growth to womanhood is beautifully drawn.

But he can never give or take love fully, truly and without reserve. Such is the effect of his insecurity and lack of true love in his childhood. This, too, is an honest study full of understanding. "Oh the pity of it," for all who are so afraid of themselves and of the rebuffs of life. What joy they miss, what strain they suffer.



In the case of the youth of this story the strain defeats him. The horror of the past returns to shatter the security of the present. He must escape. Work goes to the wall, a return to the only safe place of his childhood in Ireland is not successful, passing affections are no substitute for his real need, and drink as the last solace is no solace at all.

A new murder revives public memories and a reference to his mother arouses all his pent-up emotions, the bitterness and hatred of himself and his past, and he strikes his own blow. It is aimed at all the thoughtless, merciless, self-protecting elements of the world, but it falls, as ever, on another innocent victim, and the tragedy is complete.

So does Ethel Mannin remind us that murder and capital punishment cannot be regarded only as subjects for statistical argument or for a nice comfortable academic debate. "Any man's death diminishes me . . ." as she quotes. In the story of every murder there is a human problem and sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility. Every murder and every execution leaves behind its widening range of innocent victims. It is these we tend to forget, but they can never forget. Nor can Ethel Mannin forget them, and we who read this novel will feel the greater pity that we have not all the same compassion.

Missionary's heroism

EDITH ADLAM reviews

The Small Woman. The heroic story of Gladys

obedience to law.

CATHOLIC VIEW

The Roman Catholic Archbishops of Cape-town, Durban and Pretoria have also all denounced the proposed law as a direct attack on freedom of religion and conscience. They assert that the Catholic Church will defy the law if passed, since the Government proposes to interfere with the right of conscience of the individual.

It would appear that the Government has been surprised by the vehemence of the protest from the Churches, and although Dr. Verwoerd has declared that it is not the intention to infringe the principle of freedom of worship, the Anglican Bishops have been warned to stop their "unnecessary agitation" against the Bill.

The Bill was due for second reading in the first week of March but was dropped to eleventh place on the order paper, while the Cabinet reconsidered the position. Certain suggested amendments have now been published, including a requirement that before forbidding natives to attend Churches in White areas, the Minister of Native Affairs should be satisfied that such an attendance caused a nuisance, and should also obtain the concurrence of the local authorities.

The amendments, however, make it plain that if, after adequate time for the churches to make representations, the prohibition was disobeyed, it would be the Africans and not the clergy concerned who would be regarded as committing an offence. Naturally, these amendments have not satisfied the Churches, and especially the alteration which transfers the penalty for failure from the Churches to the "voiceless and voteless African people."

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BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

in the vein of Byron than Campbell, and with a warmth and cheekiness that makes Campbell look tame. He lashes into everyone:

*Across the way the weary Opposition
Nods forty heads above one nice reflection
—A dream as well—to find a proposition
That's vague enough to win the next election . . .*

And his penultimate stanza on ten little liberals has a grim ring of prophecy:

*One little liberal found nothing could be done
So he took the boat for England, and then
there were none.*

But no extract can give the flavour of this

ALGERIAN NEWS has made its appearance in London as a monthly bulletin giving information of the campaign for Algerian independence and the liberation of the Algerian Nationalist leader, Messali Hadj, long held as a prisoner by the French.

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Study of non-violence in Norway

Gene Sharp of Peace News staff has just returned to London following a month's leave to do research on various aspects of non-violence at the Institute of Philosophy and the History of Ideas under a programme financed by the Norwegian Scientific Research Council.

He also lectured at the Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of Sociology there. While in Norway, and during his return trip via Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands, he interviewed, for Peace News, various pacifists and other peace-workers.

This interview with Professor Arne Naess is the first of these.

RESEARCH and analysis of the ideas and methods of non-violence is important for society as a whole, Professor Arne Naess, of the Institute of Philosophy and the History of Ideas, told me recently at the University of Oslo.

RESEARCH IMPORTANT

In an interview for Peace News the Norwegian philosopher, author and mountaineer described why he felt that the research programme on the political ethics of non-violence begun in 1956 with financial assistance from the Norwegian Scientific Research Council was important.

He declared that it was important "first of all because there is a lack of information among Norwegians, and others I suppose, concerning the existence of non-violent techniques adapted to social and political struggles. There is a lot to do in the mere dissemination of facts."

Dr. Naess, who lives with his wife and family a few miles from Oslo, pointed out that the hypotheses and methods of non-violence stood in contrast to those of the dominant political trends of our day. Those trends are, he said, characterised by "belief in military preparations and disbelief in the existence of other proposals."

"A lot of social scientists, historians and others have been used to looking at non-violent approaches as a kind of illusion from the period between the world wars.

"They are glad to be reminded of events pointing toward the effectiveness of non-violent techniques and attitudes," he declared.

Research prevents sectarianism, Professor Naess said. "I think it is necessary for those who are believers in non-violent techniques or

attitudes to have some kind of relation to research projects in order not to become sectarian.

"If they do not meet non-believers of high calibre all the time they may grow sectarian."

He was convinced that if believers in non-violence were engaged in research rather than simply preaching they would be more likely to influence their opponents.

"I hope that at the research centre here non-believers will always continue to work in co-operation with the believers."

There are vast unsettled problems, practical and theoretical, which need to be studied, he declared. There was at present a lack of co-ordination between the various attempts to grapple with these problems throughout the world. He felt that there were "hundreds of projects going on" at present.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

If these vast problems are to be dealt with, much more financial assistance will be needed. "A great dream would be that humanistic studies as a whole would be better financed," he said.

The amount of financial support for humanistic studies in general is so meagre that research cannot be much more than, as it were, for home consumption, he said.

Without more financial assistance, "there is little hope of being able to tackle many fundamental questions in a many-sided and adequate way," he insisted.

At present the amount of research going on and the number of persons involved in it is out of all relation to the size of the problems, Professor Naess declared.

If more money were available it would be possible to conduct large scale research of greater importance for society as a whole. "That we hope will come," he concluded.

Missionary's heroism

EDITH ADLAM reviews

The Small Woman. The heroic story of Gladys Aylward, by Alan Burgess. (Evans Bros., 16s.)

IT has been estimated that 30,000,000 Chinese, of whom an unknown number died, fled to the west before advancing Japanese armies. This is a heroic story of how an English woman missionary took nearly 100 Chinese children to safety, through perils, sufferings and difficulties enough to appall all but the very bravest.

But it is more than this. Gladys Aylward's faith in a loving God was the impulsive force. Her conviction that her work was to be in China drove her over seemingly insuperable obstacles to live with the poorest, to aid the despised and the helpless. It was her faith that carried her through most acute suffering and almost shattering fears—of wolves approaching when she was alone, exhausted, lying on the snow on the Siberian railway track, of Japanese bombing attacks, of having led her child protégées into the mountains only to starve to death.

Her ignorance of the Russian language caused some of her earlier distresses. Determination carried her to work with a widowed missionary in Shansi, for muleteers, peasants and prisoners. Her compassion for suffering, her love of the Chinese people, much common sense and above all, her trust in God brought her to triumph.

The kindness of many Chinese people, Buddhist priests, officials, peasants, soldiers and the devoted care of medical missionaries amid the ghastly horrors of war are clearly shown.

I feel indebted to the author.

LETTERS

Kashmir

WHETHER it's worth while continuing this discussion I rather doubt, since apparently I've made no impression on Reginald Reynolds, and his arguments certainly don't move me. True, as he says, "20 years ago imperialists were still trying to justify their policy by pointing to the illiteracy, ignorance, and (often) religious fanaticism prevalent in the colonies"—and he and I opposed them. The important thing is—as I've discovered and he hasn't—that, sometimes, the imperialists were right, and he and I were wrong.

It is the fact that, here and there, people were—and are—unfitted for immediate self-government. R.R. and I were a little too apt to jump to the conclusion that because the imperialists used it the argument must necessarily be phoney. It was all the easier for us to take that line because we were entirely irresponsible critics, whereas the imperialists, right or wrong, were actually exercising responsibility.

He and I, I'm pretty sure, were both saying 20 years ago that the fanatical hatred of Moslem for Hindu, and *vice versa*, had no 'natural' existence, but was something whipped up by the British Raj to enable it to "divide and rule." Events after the Raj disappeared from an independent India proved us wrong. The hatred not only existed, but led to horrible results; so horrible, indeed, that I find R.R.'s light-hearted reference to "sitting on the safety valve" rather shocking.

Let me make my position clear. I think India's policy *vis-a-vis* Kashmir is amply justified, ethically and juridically; and if Krishna Menon had put that case to the United Nations rather more tersely the fact might have been abundantly clear to the rest of the world. But even if it had not been legally "correct" I should still think Mr. Nehru justified, in view of the dreadful possibilities, in taking the line he has taken; and I should still admire and respect him for it.—FRANK HORRABIN, 16 Endersleigh Gdns., Hendon, N.W.4.

Challenge to pacifism

THE news that it is now admitted people cannot be defended against the consequences of nuclear warfare represents the biggest challenge to the pacifist movement it has yet faced.

At the same time it is the biggest opportunity and we are fortified by the announcement that the task is to prevent war not to minimise its effects (or to try and ensure it is won).

Now let us put all our energies, enthusiasm and resources into explaining the morality of this situation. The time is ripe for a big step forward in corporate thinking: can the Peace Pledge Union point the way—and be in the lead?—LEONARD BIRD, 49/51 George St.,

Ashanti's National Liberation Movement

(His home was in Ashanti in any case). He is now a member of Parliament, on the executive of the NLM, and practises law in Kumasi.

Peggy Appiah is busy in Kumasi and is "not reminded that I am the 'white' wife of a 'coloured' husband." Fortunate for them there is no colour bar remaining in Kumasi, and even the racist Kumasi Club has opened its doors to Africans. Peggy is trying to adapt herself to the land of her husband. She speaks one of the indigenous languages and, at traditional functions, dresses in indigenous cloth. While polygamy is practised, she has no fears that her husband—brought up as a Methodist—will take a second wife!

Does Peggy Appiah have any regrets about her marriage? None whatsoever. She added: "We are both grateful to our parents for bringing us up without prejudice." Is she bored



Joseph and Peggy Appiah

with life in Ghana and especially in Kumasi? Does she hanker for the fruitful ferment of London? (When Appiah courted her, she was working for Racial Unity).

Not in the least! Coming from a family where there was a lively admixture of law and politics, she finds the same things in her living room in Kumasi. But is a white wife a handmaiden to the chief?—LEONARD BIRD, 49/51 George St.,

no substitute for a representative of the monarch.

It had been alleged that the Asantehene did not want an independent Gold Coast as early as 1957. He indicated to me, however, that "freedom came just at the right time." He is obviously behind the NLM, but he said his role was to "be a brake on certain enthusiasms of certain politicians." He regretted that Nkrumah had not visited Kumasi or himself for more than two years.

Soon I took my leave of the Asantehene and of the Opposition and of Peggy and Joe Appiah and made the five hour drive back to Accra. En-route I tried to evaluate the Opposition. The NLM was tied to the tribalism of the region and its leaders were, without doubt, the privileged from which Nkrumah broke away to form his own Convention

People's Party. As watchdog of the Government, the NLM has an important function, but it seems to have no positive, inspiring programme of its own.

Nkrumah will not have an easy time, now that Ghana is free. Yet to have an easy time was not why the people of Ghana and its Prime Minister struggled all those years for their freedom.

Members of the Vegetarian Catering Association

are pledged to foster a high standard of catering. Many of them use compost grown produce and make or provide wholewheat bread. Some undertake to prescribe diets and all have a concern for "whole foods".

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husband—brought up as a Methodist—will take a second wife!

Does Peggy Appiah have any regrets about her marriage? None whatsoever. She added: "We are both grateful to our parents for bringing us up without prejudice." Is she bored



Joseph and Peggy Appiah

with life in Ghana and especially in Kumasi? Does she hanker for the fruitful ferment of London? (When Appiah courted her, she was working for Racial Unity).

Not in the least! Coming from a family where there was a lively admixture of law and politics, she finds the same things in her living room in Kumasi. But is a white wife a handicap to a political leader in the new African State of Ghana? She felt "not in the least," because her record and that of her late father are strongly anti-colonial.

AUDIENCE WITH THE ASANTEHEN

Is she as anti-Nkrumah as her husband? She feels that Nkrumah has strong dictatorial tendencies, but she tends to be more discreet in her criticism than her husband.

The climax of my stay in Kumasi was an audience with the Asantehene, the chief of the many Ashanti chiefs. He seemed a simple man, without his ceremonial robes, but wearing a kente cloth toga bare at the right shoulder. He said that he was against Ghana's becoming a republic, even within the Commonwealth like India, as this would not be in keeping with tribal custom. An elected President would be

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DIARY

Friday, April 12

COCKFOSTERS: 8 p.m.; Church Ho., Christ Church, Film, "Children of Hiroshima," Southgate Council of Christian Churches.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mrs. Grace Coleman, "The Barrier of Colour in Southern Rhodesia," postponed from March 8. Chairman, Sybil Morrison. Refreshments from 6 p.m. Peace Pledge Union and Peace News.

Saturday, April 13

LEYTONSTONE: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Bring-and-Buy Sale. Anl. Reunion Concert, E.10 and E.11 Gp. PPU.

PLYMOUTH: 2.30 p.m.; Rear of Friends Mtg. Ho., Ford Park Lane, Mutley. Poster Parade through City Centre as a demonstration against the H-bomb tests at Christmas Island. Plymouth Joint Pacifist Committee.

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SUNDAYS

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MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKES: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

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Thursday, April 18

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group let loose. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. Donald Lord, "From Babel to a World Language." Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Sunday, April 21

LEYTONSTONE: 10.30 a.m.; The Green Man. Meet for Easter Ramble. PPU.

Tuesday, April 23

FULHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Concert Hall, Fulham Town Hall. Public Mtg. against H-bomb tests. Geoffrey Taylor (Prospective Liberal Candidate for Yeovil), Ronald Mallone, BA (Prospective Fellowship Party Candidate for W. Woolwich) and C. D. Legon. Fulham Liberal Assn.

Wednesday, April 24

EPSOM: 8 p.m.; Lecture Hall, Upper High St. Any Questions on the Colour Bar as it affects World Peace. Eileen Fletcher (Kenya), Mrs. G. C. Coleman (Southern Rhodesia), Joseph Murumbi (Kenya), Myles Fitzpatrick (West Indies), Chairman, Rev. Stephen Baker. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashtead, Surrey.

Thursday, April 25

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

Friday, April 26

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m., North Room, Conway Hall. John Loverseed, Ronald Mallone, Fellowship Party; Sidney Parker, Bridge London Circle; Terence Chivers, PYAG. "Peace and Politics." Discussion.

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Defence policy: disarmament

cuts in defence. There is a vast quantity of work waiting to be done."

So, too, the comments of some of the big arms firms:

Hawkers: "There is quite a gap to fill, but we have plenty of ideas for the future."

Bristol: "We have no military aircraft to worry about. For years civil aircraft have been our main interest."

Vickers: "All our eggs are not in the armaments basket by a long way. Our shipyard order books are filled for years with merchant work."

PACIFIST "WHITE PAPER" COMING

A leading article in the Manchester Guardian recently pointed out that it was an old truism that "you can only have the Foreign Policy you are willing to pay for."

"If Mr. Macmillan wants Britain to be great in the 'Rule Britannia' sense he cannot simultaneously cut the defence budget. On the contrary he will have to increase it."

"Our hearts may be made of oak, but our bombs have to be made of plutonium, lithium and other costly ingredients. If, alternatively, he wants greatness for Britain chiefly in the sense of industrial advance, he will have to toe the American line on critical issues in international politics. A satisfactory rate of industrial investment can only be achieved by cutting the defence budget and that will make us more than ever dependent on the US for military security."

The British Government has chosen dependence on the US for her military security. The British will not, therefore, be able to have a foreign policy of their own.

It will no longer be true that "Britons never shall be slaves." The Government has been unable to face the cost of the "Rule Britannia" policy.

BUT THERE WAS A THIRD CHOICE, involving neither an increased expenditure on defence nor an increased dependence on the USA: A POLICY OF UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.

Hungary - Egypt pilgrims are on their way

EIGHT people began the Hungary and Egypt Pilgrimage from a bomb site in Deansgate, Manchester, England, on April 7. At least two of them intend to march the whole 700 miles through Europe. They are William Taylor and Joyce Brodden.

The group expects to reach London in about three weeks, via Stoke, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Coventry and Bedford. Sympathisers are invited to join them on the way,

So far from being unrealistic, such a policy is the logic of the Government's admission that defence is no longer possible.

Many of the arguments against total disarmament are met in the Government's justification of present reductions. We eagerly await further arguments in Kathleen Lonsdale's Penguin Special to be published next Thursday and also the pacifist movement's own "White Paper" coming out at the end of the month: the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee's report on the consequences of total disarmament by Britain.

Call-up deception FROM PAGE ONE

miles and we are quite incapable in any foreseeable period of providing sufficient transport aircraft to launch a major operation of any size.

The oddest thing about the White Paper is the announcement about the British Army of the Rhine, which is to be reduced from 77,000 to about 64,000 during the next twelve months. This announcement has to be read in conjunction with the section dealing with the Reserve Forces.

Originally, the intention was that our four divisions in Germany were to be reinforced in the event of an emergency by reserve divisions from this country.

A year ago it was announced that two Territorial Army Divisions had been earmarked as reinforcements for NATO, but the White Paper now says that these reinforcements in a nuclear war would be of little value and that the two Territorial Divisions are to be assigned to Home duties like the rest of the Territorial Army.

It seems clear, therefore, that if there is another war, the troops in the British Army of the Rhine are doomed to annihilation.

They will either be over-run by the Russians in the first onslaught or, if they are not reached by the Russians, they will be obliterated either by our own or by an American thermo-nuclear counter attack. For the Government have now made it clear that there are no reinforcements for the British Army of the Rhine and the only conclusion that can be reached is that our troops remain in Germany because the Government have neither the courage nor the political honesty to admit that they are kept there to pay the price for getting the French to agree to German rearmament and in order to pay lip service to NATO.

Ban war

All the same, Mr. Sandys' White Paper is a step forward in as much as it gives up all pretence of there being any defence against nuclear attack.

On the other hand Mr. Sandys still seems to believe that possession of a megaton

PREPARATION FOR DEATH

There is at present no means of providing adequate protection for the people of this country against the consequences of an attack with nuclear weapons. Though, in the event of war, the fighter aircraft of the RAF would unquestionably be able to take a heavy toll of enemy bombers, a proportion would inevitably get through. Even if it were only a dozen, they could with megaton bombs inflict widespread devastation. This makes it more than ever clear that the over-riding consideration in all military planning must be to prevent war rather than to prepare for it.

— Defence White Paper, April, 1957.

THE Government White Paper on Defence may very easily give rise to a conviction in the public mind that the British Government has decided upon a policy of unilateral disarmament.

The scrapping of battleships, the displacement of fighter aircraft, and the ending of conscription, seems to those who have put their faith in these weapons, that Britain is to be left defenceless against an enemy.

But in fact Mr. Sandys re-assures them with sinister smoothness that these weapons are to go because others more effective are to take their place; guided missiles, atomic devices and H-bombs are to be the weapons of the future. But unfortunately for those most concerned, that is the helpless people of this country, this means of defence is entirely dependent upon these weapons not being used. If they are used, not only this country, but the world is doomed; this, however, is not mentioned in the White Paper!



However, at last the truth has been frankly stated about so-called defence against nuclear bombs; in spite of two White Papers on Atomic Defence and Nuclear Weapons, the first issued by the Labour Government, and the second by the present Government, it is now categorically said that there is no adequate protection for the people of this country.

The fantastic suggestions in those former documents about brown paper, vacuum cleaners and sandbags as protection from blast, burns and contamination, as well as the wildly improbable schemes for evacuating millions of people to unspecified destinations are now openly admitted to be the downright lies that most intelligent people believed them to be at the time.

It was pointed out in this column, and in

STOP TESTS FROM PAGE ONE

tests," Mr. Matsushita declared "that is why we are very sensitive of anything to do with nuclear weapons." Westerners who thought the Japanese too nervous ought to be nervous too.

It was after Bikini that the Japanese became very conscious of the danger, he said. Then the Japan Council Against A and H-bombs was organised and began a campaign. "This organisation was very small and should be regarded as left wing to some extent."

That campaign was not against any particular country, he said, but as the US was responsible

other places that all these calculations about protective measures were based upon the explosive power of one bomb.

It is now plainly admitted that some bombers are bound to get through. It is more than 20 years since Mr. Baldwin, then Prime Minister, said precisely the same thing, and he said more than that; he said what Mr. Sandys now admits, and what Churchill and other war-leaders also openly confessed: that the only defence is "to kill more of the enemy's women and children more quickly than they can kill yours."

★
If this is the only hope, a hope based on the unfounded assumption that everyone will go on being afraid to use the weapons they are going on producing, then the prospect for the future life of mankind is black indeed.

It has been argued in this column many times that a belief in nuclear weapons as a deterrent is a fallacy, but in view of the dreadful consequences which will result from Governments acting on this fallacious premise, it can scarcely be said too often.

So long as this unproved theory is held to be valid, no Government will give up either the bomb, or testing the bomb; it has become a question of a policy to be pursued, and one which Governments seem determined to pursue to its inevitable catastrophic end.

It is clear that if military planning is no longer concerned with preparing for war it has lost its meaning; but whatever words the fact is wrapped up in, making these fearful weapons *is* preparation for war. If there is war the people of this country will be blasted to pieces, burned alive, contaminated with radioactive dust and there will be few, if any survivors; all that can be done is to burn, blast, contaminate and destroy men, women and children in other countries.

What is needed is some Government strong enough, not in nuclear weapons but in moral courage, to say: "if these weapons are too evil to be used then we will not make them." It is on this level, rather than on the level of fear of the consequences that an impact could be made upon all the peoples of the world.

PROTEST AGAINST THE H-BOMB TESTS

"Death Stand-

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The group expects to reach London in about three weeks, via Stoke, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Coventry and Bedford. Sympathisers are invited to join them on the way, the Manchester Guardian reports, and collections will be made for Egyptian and Hungarian relief. The pilgrims are meeting their own expenses.

The aim of the pilgrimage is "to demonstrate against last November's Russian aggression in Hungary, the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt, and all acts of cruelty and oppression throughout the world." Mr. Philip Toynbee said the pilgrims wanted the pilgrimage to be a reminder of past events and of present oppression in Hungary.

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TO STRENGTHEN YOUR FAITH

A series of sermons in preparation

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On the other hand Mr. Sandys still seems to believe that possession of a megaton weapon is a safeguard against war. Apparently the Government are not yet able to face the fact that the only way to ban the H-bomb is to ban war itself.

Unless the thinking in the White Paper is rapidly carried to its logical conclusion, it will be found that in succeeding years the financial burden will still be crippling and there will still be those on the Labour as well as the Conservative benches who believe that we can go it alone, either by planning operations of the Suez kind or by launching an H-bomb.

The truth is that we can do neither.

Thus, given the policy outlined in the White Paper the most we shall be able to do will be to make a limited contribution in the field of conventional weapons in support of the civil power in various parts of the world, but we shall be quite incapable of undertaking major operations through the medium of either conventional or non-conventional weapons.

Although Mr. Sandys has had one or two glimpses of reality, he has not yet managed to act up to the logic of what he sees.

C.O. sentenced till Court rose

(from our special correspondent)

ALTHOUGH dismissed by the Local Tribunal, James Spencer, at one time an art student, had his conscientious objection recognised by the Appellate Tribunal, and was exempted from military service on condition that he did alternative service on the land or in a hospital for two years and 60 days. But James Spencer was not willing to accept exemption on these conditions and refused to do the work specified. He was prosecuted

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That campaign was not against any particular country, he said, but as the US was responsible many people thought the movement anti-US. It was therefore limited and did not get full support.

When Russia made experiments in Siberia, "we made another protest, this time against Russia. That is one reason why this particular movement became a wider and a national movement."

Now Britain had decided to make nuclear tests at Christmas Island and the Japanese had protested. Britain had announced her intention, but had not yet carried it out.

"You have not done wrong yet, but we are afraid that you are going to do it . . . We are not blaming England alone. Please do not do the wrong. We are advising you because we know that you are our friends."

CO-OPERATE

"I hope that the friends of the anti-atomic bomb movement [in Britain] and friends in Japan will co-operate, and that God will see that this evil thing will disappear from the world."

After his speech, Mr. Matsushita presented numerous messages, resolutions and appeals received from Japan addressed to the British people.

Included were two sets of 1,000 tiny delicate hand-made paper cranes. It is believed in Japan that if one person makes 1,000 of these, his wish will come true.

Mr. Matsushita also displayed calls for the Third World Conference against Nuclear Weapons being sponsored by the Japan Council Against A and H-bombs, and the bulk of that body.

Arthur Goss, Chairman of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests declared, when introducing Mr. Matsushita, that it was certain that the delegation could not have come at a more appropriate time. "The matter of nuclear weapon tests is the major issue in this country."

"The Council believes that the Government in this is deeply wrong, both morally and politically," he declared.

"Retaliation is no safeguard," he insisted. "The only

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DONALD SOPER

at

KINGSWAY HALL

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APRIL 14

The Meaning of

Worship

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Despite the fact that he was given a month in which to think it over he refused to pay the fine, spending two months in prison instead.

Early this year he was again prosecuted, when a much heavier penalty would have been expected.

But again he was fined only £5 and given one month in which to pay.

Once more having refused to pay, he was brought before Lady Archibald at Hitchin Court on March 19. As the court had been exceptionally lenient in imposing only a small fine Spencer was not surprised to be told that, whilst the Bench were satisfied as to his sincerity, as he had behaved outside the law they had no alternative but to sentence him.

The sentence, however, is one which might be regarded as an example for the consideration of other courts. James Spencer was sentenced to be imprisoned until the court rose, that day.

DR. DONALD SOPER will be conducting the BBC's Sunday Evening religious service from Kingsway Hall on April 14.

Africa South, reviewed by Anthony Sampson, former editor of The Drum, on page four, is obtainable in the United Kingdom, price 4s., from 25 Cambridge Gardens, London, W.10.

When Russia made experiments in Siberia, "we made another protest, this time against Russia. That is one reason why this particular movement became a wider and a national movement."

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"The Council believes that the Government in this is deeply wrong, both morally and politically," he declared. "Retaliation is no safeguard," he insisted. "The only safeguard today is the abolition of all nuclear weapons as a step to general disarmament."

"Britain has an opportunity to show moral leadership in the world by not testing those weapons, he said. "This opportunity will not come again."

H-TEST NEWS IN BRIEF

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests have distributed 40,000 leaflets to date, have taken a larger hall (Friends House) for their meeting on April 30.

Liberals are to start a protest rally in Fulham (W. London) Town Hall on April 30.

Sheffield Unitarian Churches have called for unilateral action by the British, Soviet and US Governments to stop tests.

Pravda has said that the Soviet Union "cannot agree to such a course" as unilateral action to stop the tests.

"for reasons which are perfectly clear and well known." Nine Japanese fishing vessels will sail for the Christmas Island area of the Pacific at the end of April. The Japanese Government has advised them not to enter the test area. Boats will sail close to it broadcasting world appeals for the banning of tests.

Four Japanese, seated on the steps of the Japanese war memorial in Tokyo entered their second week of fasting against the British H-tests early this week.

The Union of University Liberal Societies presented to Mr. Donald Wade, Chief Liberal Whip in the House of Commons, a scroll over 100 ft. long signed by students from 90 universities and colleges opposing the British H-bomb test. The scroll was conveyed to the Prime Minister.

British policy on the H-bomb test was denounced by J. Roger Roberts retiring Chairman of the Union of University Liberal Societies at its annual conference. He called it foolish and extremely dangerous. "To continue now is an act of criminal folly."

Russia's eighth test explosion since August took place on Monday.

at attention

by HAROLD DAVIES MP

(supported by over sixty Labour MP's)

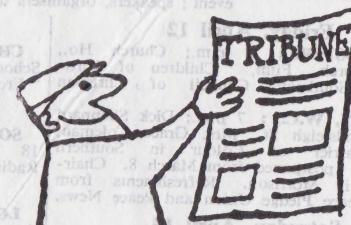
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